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HOW SHALL WE HELP THE NEGRO?

BY THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL BISHOP OF KENTUCKY.

IN discussing this question I do not propose to enter the arena of statistics. I am not quite ready to admit the statement of one writer, that "comparison based on the census of 1870 is utterly worthless as regards the negroes," while yet I do agree that in certain portions of the South it was materially at fault. And although, therefore, the figures of Professor Gilliam, showing that eighty years hence the Southern blacks will nearly double the Southern whites, may not be perfectly accurate, yet, as he further says, "it is morally certain that by that date, and perhaps sooner, the negroes throughout the South will have a great numerical superiority."

Nor do I propose to enter the lists either as champion or as assailant of the negro's progress, physical, intellectual, or moral. There can be no question that Mr. Greener, the first colored graduate of Harvard University, says truly that the negro is self-supporting, that he adds to the wealth of the country, and that he is accumulating property. As certainly, too, we must admit that the intellectual progress claimed for his race by Mr. Greener is indicated by the existence of "upward of a hundred journals owned and edited by negroes," and by the "number and influence of educated negroes who are now scattered broadcast throughout the South." But on the other hand we note his own declaration that "intemperance, a low standard of morality, an emotional rather than a reflective system of religious ethics, a partial divorce of creed and conduct, and a tendency (by no means confined to negroes) of superficial learning, and of the less desirable elements of character, fitness, or brain, to force their way to the front, are evils which every honest negro must deplore, while sadly admitting their existence."

I recall, as I write, a conversation in New Orleans, in 1880, when I chanced to be placed next to a distinguished Federal official at a dinner-table, whereat the wealth and the intelligence of the Crescent City were gathered to do honor to the Chief Justice of the United States. A rather malapropos remark of mine elicited from my companion the confession that he had come to Louisiana as a philanthropist in the days of reconstruction; that he had been nourished in the faith of human freedom; that his aged father in New Hampshire had prayed with his family morning and evening, since his earliest recollection, that the negro

might be freed. And then he added that the greatest disappointment of his life was to be compelled by experience to acknowledge that the negro is incapable of development, and that he is utterly incapable of the proper performance of the citizen's duty, either at the polls or in the jury-box. Beyond controversy and by the testimony of the educated negro leaders, and of their partisan friends of the white race, there are still remaining, in spite of all their boasted progress, an ignorance which is simply abysmal, and a moral incapacity before which the lover of humanity, and still more the patriot American, stands appalled. So that I am constrained to fear, and to believe, that Professor Gilliam speaks truth when he adds, as conclusion of the sentence of which I have already quoted a part, that, with numerical superiority, eighty years hence the negroes throughout the South will have made a "disproportionate gain in wealth and education, and a gain lower still in the domain of morals."

And thirdly, I would say that in seeking for an answer to the dreadful question which keeps repeating itself, "What are you going to do about it?" I shall not for a moment consider the possibility of any emigration of these people which would so much as diminish the cotton crop by a single bale. To my mind it is perfectly absurd to talk of deporting the negroes of the South to Africa, or to any other country; and it is just as much so to think of setting apart for them a reservation of territory in our own country to which they shall be confined. The fact that by a sacred provision of our Constitution these people are citizens of the United States, and so citizens of each and every State, is sufficient barrier to protect them from forcible migration or emigration; and the further facts that for twenty years they have enjoyed the sweet privileges of American citizenship, that under its protection they have made material progress, that members of their race have sat in the high places as rulers of the nation, and that the school and the ballot-box open a like glorious prospect before the eyes of all,—all these things declare that voluntary migration can never take place. No. "The negro has come to America to stay," says Mr. Armstrong, in the "North American Review" for July, 1884, and his opinion is corroborated by the opinions of all the educated negroes given in the symposium whereof he was one.

What then? Here they are, and here they will stay; here we are, and here we mean to stay. Why not? Shall Brobdingnag empty itself of all its giant inhabitants in hurrying dread because Gulliver is come? Or rather, shall Gulliver be alarmed because of the multitude of tiny Lilliputians who crowd the fair land he has found, and madly expatriate himself lest he be destroyed by the pygmies whom he himself has brought there? True, he must recognize, if he be wise, the terrible danger presented by their very number. Doubtless he will feel before long the touch of their restraining hands, if he foolishly lie down to sleep in their midst, and, it may be, will awake to discover that he is conquered. But surely, because of coward fear of such result, he cannot run away and abandon his home. Let us then dismiss both these suggested solutions of our problem as entirely impossible. The negro cannot be banished from the Southern States, and the white man will not abandon them. The negro cannot be colonized against his will, nor yet be shut up within any prescribed territory; even did the black man consent thus to dwell apart, when by blood-sealed covenant he is entitled to home and citizenship in each and every State, the enterprising white man would refuse to respect the sanctity of the reservation.

The problem still confronts us. We may not omit to mention still another solution, suggested by no less authority than the great Canon Rawlinson, the historian of the monarchies of the ancient world,—namely, that the races mingle without restraint, that we make marriages with these people of Canaan, and expect from the union a mixed race mightier and more developed than either factor (such is his promise).

Perhaps it is hardly possible for an American, and least of all an American born to the traditions of the slave-holder, calmly to discuss this proposition to forget the mother who bore him, and to pollute the pure stream of our Caucasian blood by such admixture. But the hope which the English historian has found in the moldy parchments of the far-away East is utterly belied by the results of modern race-fusion, which without an exception are adverse to miscegenation. "In no instance," says Professor Gardiner, "does the mixed people show the mental vigor of the Caucasian parent stock, and in most instances the mental and moral condition of the half-caste is lower even than that of the inferior parent stock." More than this, as is well pointed out by the same writer, Canon Rawlinson, in discussing this question, has fallen into the blunder which in general waits for an Englishman coming to consider

anything American. He always thinks of our country as a small island, and would find no fun in Mark Twain's reply to the interviewer "that he was born in New Jersey or Kansas, or just around there." Consequently the great professor thinks of the 6,500,000 negroes as a mere handful dispersed throughout the 43,000,000 whites, and easily absorbed and assimilated. He is ignorant of, or he ignores, the fact that the negro must inevitably remain in the Southern States, where even at present the races are about numerically equal, and hence that "a general amalgamation would produce a mulatto stock in which the negro physique and physiognomy would predominate. Whites would be absorbed by negroes, not negroes by whites, and the brain capacity of the mixed race would be little superior to that of the pure negro. Fifty years hence, when negroes will surpass whites as three to one, the mongrel race will represent capacity decidedly inferior to the negro of pure blood." Certainly the white man of the Southern States cannot even consider this remedy for his present ills, this prophylactic against future woes. And let us remember that the negro looks with just as little good-will upon the project to break down the wall of race-partition, and make of the twain but one race. Mr. Frederick Douglass seems not to have gained but rather to have lost influence with his people by his recent matrimonial alliance with a white woman; and our own observation fully confirms the statement of Mr. Harris in the "North American Review," that "whenever the occasion arises the negro is quick to draw the color-line, and in some sections of the South, notably in the older cities, there are well-defined social feuds between the blacks and the mulattoes."

What may come in the far-distant future, when by long contact with the superior race the negro shall have been developed to a higher stage, none can tell. For my own part, believing as I do that "God hath made of one blood all the nations of men," I look for the day when race-peculiarities shall be terminated, when the unity of the race shall be manifested. I can find no reason to believe that the great races into which humanity is divided shall remain forever distinct, with their race-marks of color and of form. Centuries hence the red man, the yellow, the white, and the black may all have ceased to exist as such, and in America be found the race combining the bloods of them all; but it must be centuries hence. Instinct and reason, history and philosophy, science and revelation, all alike cry out against the degradation of the race by the free commingling of the tribe which is highest with that

which is lowest in the scale of development. The process of selection which nature indicates as the method of most rapid progress indignantly refuses to be thus set at naught. Our temporary ills of to-day may not be remedied by the permanent wrong of the whole family in heaven and earth.

Still the problem remains, how shall these alien races dwell in safety side by side, each free and unhampered in the enjoyment of life and liberty and in the pursuit of its happiness? They are the descendants of one father, the redeemed children of one God, the citizens of one nation, neighbors with common interests, and yet are separated by the results of centuries of development, physical, mental, and moral,—separated by inherited traditions, by the spirit of caste, by the recollection of wrongs done and suffered, though it may be in general as innocent in the perpetrator as in the sufferer. How shall the rights of all be duly guarded? How shall the lower race be lifted up to higher stages of human development, for only so can the rights of the superior race be made secure for the present and for the future, and this is the chiefest right of them who are now cast down?

I answer, by the personal endeavors of individuals of the higher race; by their personal contact with these, their ignorant and untaught neighbors, exhibiting before their wondering eyes in daily life the principles of truth and justice, purity and charity, honesty and courage. Perhaps this may seem to be but the veriest platitude, the gush of sentiment, the twaddle of a maudlin religion, but in all truth and soberness I mean exactly what I say. Let me try to explain more fully.

These people need help, that they may be lifted up. I mean, then, that in my judgment that help must be personal and not official, the hand of a friend rather than the club of an officer, the patient counsel of a neighbor rather than the decree of a court, the enactment of a Congress, or the proclamation of a President. The solemn sanctions of the organic law are thrown round about this liberty, and the robe of citizenship, full, perfect, and complete, with never seam nor rent, has been put upon it. The courts have declared its inviolable character, and this decree affirms the negro, the liberated slave, a citizen. But does the declaration make him such? I mean does it, can it impart the intelligent life, the moral consciousness which shall vivify the dead mass and make it a helpful member of the body politic? We have had declarations from every department of the Government that the negro is a citizen; but they are as powerless to effect their purpose as were the oft-repeated acts of the Confed-

erate Congress to make the paper dollar worth more than two cents; as nugatory and vain as the old-time legislation of Virginia that there should be a town at such and such a designated cross-road. The negro is a citizen, and he has the rights under the Constitution and the laws that any white man has; and yet he needs help, though it may be the black and white demagogues would dislike him to think so,—he needs help, personal, individual, patient, loving help, that he may be fitted to exercise his covenanted rights, and to do the duties which these rights impose.

Let us turn for a moment to another sphere of life wherein he now plays an independent part. I mean the Christian Church, using the term in its widest popular signification, as including all organized bodies of Christian disciples. When the war was ended, nowhere was the newly acquired freedom more quickly active than in the organization of religious societies among the negroes. The white pastors who for so many years had ministered unto them were cast out without ceremony; the guidance of the experienced and trusty Christian white men was repudiated, and in each congregation the government was given exclusively to black men; and while we may hesitate to believe that "the Lord gave the word," yet certainly, as the psalmist says, great was the company of the preachers, "those that published." In very many places, because of the rapid influx of the liberated slaves into the towns, new and large meeting-houses were erected and new congregations organized. Utterly ignorant men, gifted with a fatal fluency of speech, unable often to read the Bible in English, much less in its original tongues, became the blind guides of blind followers; and the result is that in some places within my personal knowledge a revival meeting has been going on every night since the surrender of Johnston's army. The orgies of their so-called worship are such as to cause any Christian man to blush for the caricature of our holy religion therein portrayed. As the years passed by, the congregations were associated under the particular polity to which they happened to belong, preacher and people being in general alike ignorant of the features and the claims of all. Conferences meet, general associations are held, bishops, presiding elders, professors, and doctors in divinity assemble, and there is much oratory; and alas! it is too often made plain that the teachers are themselves ignorant of the very first principles of the gospel of Christ. Not that I mean to say that these men cannot all talk glibly in slang theological phrase about the eternal verities,—for they can. And still less would I be understood as say-

ing that there are not among these, my colored brothers, men whom I rejoice to call brothers, and from whom I rejoice to learn, not the science of the books, but the glorious guarantee of my Christian hope in their vital apprehension of the Father's love. And others there are now fully equal in learning to the average white minister, but these are few and far separated. But I believe that in general it were as wise to take the infant-class of a well-taught Sunday-school, with one of the older boys as its preacher, and set it up as an independent church, as so to constitute a body of the average negroes in the Southern States.

I hold that those Christian bodies have acted most unwisely who have set off the negroes belonging to their communions as independent churches, and so have taken from them the enlightening instruction, the helpful guidance, the pastoral care of the white men. I know that it was hard to resist the impotency of the negroes, eager thus to display their capacity as leaders, organizers, and preachers, backed as they were by the thoughtless mob behind them. I know, too, that it was taking a burden from shoulders already heavily laden, thus to shift the responsibility of giving religious instruction to this great multitude. But I know equally well that the result has been evil, that the religious development of the negro race in our Southern States has been hindered by the separation. Just a year and a half ago there was held in the city of Louisville, Kentucky, a meeting of colored ministers, and the report of their proceedings, published in a newspaper conducted by negroes, affords a most melancholy evidence of the fact that, separated from their white brethren, these, the leaders, had degenerated, and had ceased to realize, if they had ever fully done so, that the end and object of religion is morality, the uplifting of men into the likeness of God: for this report portrays ministers of the gospel charging one another with the grossest violations of the moral law! "If the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!" If the teachers of religion, the exponents of the moral law, be thus liable to mutual recrimination, what must be the condition of the great mass of their followers! Declared Christians as declared citizens, they need help — personal, individual, tender, persistent — to enable them to become such in any true sense. The mistake of the United States Government has been repeated by some of the Christian denominations. Perhaps it was inevitable, but at all events it has taken away one of the chief agencies which the white man could employ to educate the black man to a

true conception of citizenship; and alas! as the years go by, it must be more and more difficult for us to gain control of it again. Is it not worthy of consideration by the Southern men who are the ministers and leaders of the denominations with which these people are most largely associated, at least in name, whether they cannot make the bond a closer one, and so be enabled, at least indirectly, to shape the policy of their weaker brethren? Responsibility must be heavy in proportion to opportunity, and that responsibility cannot be put away by a mere yielding to the clamor of an ignorant populace, demanding that it may rest upon them and their children.

To return to the more general discussion of our question, I ask, by whom should this personal interest in the negro be felt and shown? And the answer is, of course, patent, that the duty rests upon all Americans alike. We need not reopen the old sore of the original importation of Africans into our country, and allege, as we might, that the guilt of it, if there be guilt, rests upon the ancestors of our New England cousins, rather than upon the fathers of us Southern people. Further, it goes without saying that the Federal Government which added this great number to our roll of citizens should, in common fairness, do all that it may do to help them to the attainment of civic capacity, and to help us so to help them. And if it be questioned whether the constitutional power to do this thing exist, it would seem to be sufficient answer in equity that it must be a part of the power by which emancipation was effected. But in a word, because the citizen of one State is a citizen of every other, and because, if one member of our body politic suffer, all the others by the very law of our being must suffer also, it follows that from every American white man this help may be rightfully expected. But to the men of the South, my own dear kinsmen after the flesh, I would speak, and say that of necessity the burden of this labor must fall upon us. Hard it may seem to some of us that, despoiled of our property for which our money was paid, and whose protection was guaranteed to our fathers, placed under the very feet of our former slaves by the conquering power of the Federal Government and the chicanery and fraud of unscrupulous white men, we should now be called upon to give our personal care, our time, our sympathy, and our meager resources to the development of these semi-barbarians up to true manhood and intelligent citizenship. But be it hard, 'tis true. The burden rests upon us, and we cannot put it away. The love of our whole country demands it; that special regard we cannot but feel for

the well-being and advancement of our own people and our own sunny home demands it; recognition of the truth of human brotherhood—that revelation of Jesus Christ and that last result of sociological study—demands it.

And how and where shall we begin? I answer, "every man in the deep of his own heart," by building there, firm and stable, the conviction that the negro is a man and a citizen; that the conditions of our life are all changed; that old things are passed away, and that the new things which are come to us demand, with an authority which may not be gainsaid, the effort of mind and heart and hand for the uplifting of the negro, lest, if he be left lying in his degradation, he pull us down to his defilement. Nay, we must build higher than this, even the conviction that it is the will of God that the nobler shall be evolved from the ignoble, that the race shall progress toward his likeness; and from the summit of this lofty conception we can look out and see the work to be done, and there we can breathe the pure air of heaven, and get inspiration for its performance, though it cost self-denial and self-sacrifice. Here we must begin in ridding our hearts of the feeling of caste, which has made them its citadel for generations.

But let it be clearly understood that I have not the least reference to the social status of the freedman when I so speak. That mysterious thing which we call "society" will ever take care of itself, and my taking away the pariah badge which caste has affixed to the negro is by no means the presentation to him of a card of invitation to the soirée in my parlor. No man has an inherent right to be admitted into a circle which is in general defined by equality of distance from some fixed point of refinement, culture, leisure, or wealth. Undoubtedly it seems to be too true that the door of admission in our American life is generally to be unlocked by the golden key, whatever be the hand that holds it. And yet, after all, this seeming welcome to the almighty dollar is in reality accorded to the qualifications which wealth can supply, even culture, leisure, and refinement, and the community of interests with those possessing like advantages. But certainly no man or woman has any indefeasible right to social recognition, and its refusal is not a denial of equity. The time may come, and will, when the prejudices now apparently invincible shall have been conquered by the changed characteristics of the race now under the social ban. Society, then as now organized upon the basis of community of interests, congeniality of tastes, and equality of position, will exclude the multitude who cannot speak its shibboleth; but there will be no color-line of separa-

tion. If the aspirate be duly sounded, the thickness of the lips that frame the word shall be no hindrance to the social welcome. When shall this be? Ah, when? In the far-distant future it may be; and equally it may be that our great-grandchildren shall behold such a social revolution as will open wide the drawing-rooms of Washington to the black men who have been honored guests in the palaces of England and of France. But whether it shall ever be or not is no point in the discussion I am making; for immediate social recognition is not an equitable demand, nor yet a necessary factor in the development of the negro race, which is his right and our only safety.

But poverty and ignorance are no barrier in the way of the elevation of any white man in America, nor yet the obscurity or even degradation of his origin. Though in infancy he may have lain "among the pots," yes, and the pigs of an Irish hovel, yet in this favored land of equal rights no arbitrary distinction shall stand in the way of his education into a cultivated refinement that shall be as "the wings of a dove covered with silver," nor prevent that his trained powers shall cover "her feathers with yellow gold." Why shall a different condition hedge about the black man because, forsooth, the hovel he was born in was in Carolina rather than Galway, and the pigs, his playmates, had a private pen?

But further, the helping hand of intelligent wealth never fails to be outstretched to smooth the path of the indigent white boy whose honesty and capacity and diligence give promise of a successful career. Our annals are full of splendid instances of the success attending such personal effort to further the progress of the struggling child of poverty, and even of shame. Why shall not these annals record in the future the names of black boys thus developed, by the personal care of members of the higher race, into a manhood as noble and as beneficent? Is it that there is lacking the capacity for development? Such opinion will hardly be expressed by any intelligent observer in our day. The scholars and orators, the mechanics and accountants, of pure negro blood, moral and upright, trusty and trusted, who have been made here in America, flatly contradict any such assumption. True, they are few in number; true, that in general the members of this race have as yet acquired but the little learning which is so dangerous; true, that left to themselves, under leaders of their own race, they have in almost every case made grievous failure, have made loud boasting of an uplifting which was just high enough to display their grotesque ugliness. Surely these results were to be expected in the circumstances attending their

effort for self-advancement. Yet, one man of high character and real education is enough to prove capacity. America can furnish many such, and of the great number which England offers, I cite one that is a crucial, splendid instance, and which alone must satisfy. An English cruiser overhauls a slave-ship homeward bound with its cargo of living treasure. The hatches are burst open, and the bondmen come forth from the nameless horrors of the middle passage just begun. Among them is a boy of typical African feature and form, who, for some cause, attracts the notice of a man who loves his fellow-men; and when the liberated are carried back to roam again as free savages their native wilds, he is taken to England, that culture may develop the god-like nature in which he was created, that by contact with individuals of the higher kingdom this denizen of the lower may be lifted up. To-day that boy is the Bishop of the Niger, governing and guiding the missionary work of the Church of England in all the vast region of West Africa.

Capacity is not lacking, but help is needed, the help, I repeat, which the intelligence of the superior race must give by careful selection and personal contact with the selected. Does not our mother nature teach us that this is the only process offering prospect of success, such being her method of procedure in her constant working under the Creator's law? "The plant," says Mr. Drummond, "stretches down to the dead world beneath it, touches its minerals and gases with its mystery of life, and brings them up ennobled and transformed to the living sphere." "The kingdom of heaven," said Jesus of Nazareth, "is like leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal till the whole was leavened." The teaching of nature and of the Lord of nature alike declare that the leavened mass, the alive, must touch that which is dead to impart of its life; the higher must stoop to touch the lower, and its contact must be long continued, individual, personal, real, if the lower is to be carried up to the superior sphere. And the Christian philosopher, the greatest expounder of the religion of Jesus Christ, sums it all up into one command, when he charges those who would help forward the coming of the kingdom of the Christ, wherein shall be universal brotherhood among Christian men: "Be not high-minded, but condescend to men of low estate."

The separation of the negro race from the white means for the negro continued and increasing degradation and decay. His hope, his salvation, must come from association with that people among whom he dwells, but from whose natural guidance and care he has

been separated largely by the machinations of unscrupulous demagogues. These care not a straw for his elevation, but would mount on his shoulders to place and power. They find their opportunity in the natural, indeed inevitable, estrangement of the liberated slave from his former master; and they are more than content to keep the negro in thrifless ignorance, that he may continue their subservient follower. Certainly it was natural that these new-created citizens should join themselves to the leaders whose hands had broken the shackles of their slavery. Instinct prompted such alliance, and the fawning words of the cringing flatterer found ready acceptance and belief, when he told of the old master's desire again to fasten the chain which he, the orator, had broken with the tools in his carpet-bag. 'Twas pitiable to see the sorrow of many of these people when the announcement was made that a Democrat had been elected President, for they had been taught to believe that such an event meant their restoration to the condition of servitude. And it was cruel to witness, as I did, the sportive mockery of unthinking white men, who tortured the negroes by the assertion of ownership, and in some cases went through the mockery of selling them at auction. But is not now the opportunity of Southern white men to reestablish the bond of friendship with their former slaves, and to prove to them that our interests are identical? The issue of the last presidential election has opened even the blindest eyes to see that the freedom of their race is in no sense dependent upon the continued supremacy of the Republican party, but is assured by the organic law which no political party can change. The time is come that we may make them know that our desire is to help them along the road to prosperity and happiness, even as we ask them to help us. The time is come for honest, manly effort to teach them that in our union is the only hope of both races; that separated from us, their neighbors and friends, they must retrograde toward the barbarism whence they are sprung, and, that then, alas! we might be compelled to wage relentless war against them for our own preservation. The white men of the South must help the negro politically, if they would be helped by him, and first of all must give him assurance of honest purpose, by the removal of the ban which prejudice has established, and treat as a freeman him whom the Constitution and the laws declare free.

I am sure that particular cases of his present hardship will readily occur to all; notably one to which Mr. Cable called such vigorous attention in *THE CENTURY* for January of the current year. I could but think of it with a blush

as I journeyed a little while ago on a south-bound railway train, and saw a tidy, modest, and intelligent black woman restricted to a car which, when she entered it, was about as full of oaths and obscenity as of the foul vapor compounded of the fumes of tobacco and of whisky. At the same station came aboard the train two white women, evidently less intelligent, less refined in manner, and by no means so cleanly dressed; and they were admitted to the privileges of the so-called ladies' car, which, under the usual interpretation, means merely "white people's car." Is this just? Is this equitable? Must not any possible elevation of the negro race by our efforts have a beginning in the removal of such flagrant wrongs as this?

Again, I notice, as perhaps falling more constantly under my own observation, the cruel prejudice which stands like an angry sentinel at our church-doors to warn away these people whom we yet declare to be children of the one Father. Certainly it is no injustice to anybody that a number of Christians shall join together for the erection of a church and the provision of services; and in the architecture they shall select, the form of worship they shall employ, the doctrines they shall have proclaimed, they may please their own fancy or conscience, and no man has a right to complain. More than this, there is no more wrong in the appropriation of particular seats to particular persons who choose to pay therefor a price greater or less. Still further, the American Christian's pew is his castle, if he please to make it such, and no stranger may with impunity invade it. The religious club may, like other associations of that species, grant admission to the privileges of its club-house only by card, and nobody has a right to complain. But when the religious club sets up a claim to be the visible kingdom of God on earth, whose mission and ground of being are the making known the glad tidings to the poor and the outcast, what absurdity of contradiction is such exclusive selfishness! The congregations of Christian people in our country seem with one accord to recognize their duty as their highest pleasure, and welcome most gladly all who come to join their prayers and praises and to hear their teacher. Ushers will confront you with smiling welcome at the door of any church in the land, and conduct you to a seat, though you be introduced by no member. Your manhood is your right to enter — *if only your face is white*. Is this just? Is this equitable? Above all, is this Christian? It is but a foolish dread which justifies such distinction on the ground that, once admitted, the negro would take possession and rule the church. Social sympathies, we know very well, have perhaps most to do with the gathering

of any congregation of regular worshippers; sympathies which, as we have seen, arise from equality of material condition, community of tastes, participation in the same daily life. Why do we not fear to welcome as occasional visitor the white man or woman of low degree? Why does not like danger in their case restrain our Christian hospitality? Is the negro more pushing and self-assertive than the rude white man? Nay, rather is he not by his very pride of race, and his natural resentment of the white man's contumely, unwilling even to join with him in doing homage to the one King? This is but a pretext to excuse the conduct which, in our heart of hearts, we know to proceed from the old root of bitterness — the feeling of caste which demands that the liberated slave shall be forever a menial.

I charge the Christian white men of the South to mark that the effect of this separation, on which we have insisted, has helped to drive these people into a corresponding exclusiveness, and is constantly diminishing the influence of our Christian thinkers upon their belief and their practice. And twenty years of the separate life of these churches of the black man have made plain the inevitable tendency. They have colleges and newspapers, missionary societies and mammoth meeting-houses; they have baptized multitudes, and they maintain an unbroken revival; and yet confessedly the end of the commandment, the morality, the godlikeness which all religion is given to attain, is farther away than at the beginning. Their religion is a superstition, their sacraments are fetiches, their worship is a wild frenzy, and their morality a shame. I have myself heard the stewards of a city congregation reviling a country visitor because she always selected the Communion Sunday as the occasion of her visit, "that she might drink their good wine"; and the soft impeachment was not denied.

True, there are white people equally ignorant of the first principles of Christianity, and whose moral character is equally destitute of religious influence; but would it be wise or safe or Christian to let them organize separate communions, to give them up to their blind guides? This is all I plead for, that separation from us is for the negro destruction, and perhaps for us as well. Therefore we must help them, teach them, guide them, lift them up; and that we may do so, we must treat them as men.

Difficulties frown upon us as we enter this path. Our friends will look at us with eyes askant, and it may be will speak bitter words whose sting will wound; but this we can bear, for their conduct will not much damage our work, and we can believe that by and by they will see the truth and love it. But harder to

overcome, and of direful influence upon the very beginning of their labor who labor for peace, are the black demagogues who have learned from their white partners that the ignorance of their brethren must be the mother of devotion to their selfish interests; that their unreasoning hostility to their white neighbors is the cement which fastens securely their dependence upon them. Preachers and politicians, each being as much the one as the other, will resent and resist our effort to open the blind eyes that they may see their glorious freedom in the Church and in the State. Pride of race will be summoned to resist the alien; grateful recollection will turn away to the white men who came a score of years ago kindly to become their governors and congressmen and senators. The ignorant ranter who has held thousands spell-bound while he pictured the torment of the flaming lake, and called his hearers away to the sensuous delights of a Mohammedan paradise, will not freely consent to the introduction of preachers having intelligence, learning, and rational piety. But the truth will prevail at the last, if only it can find an entrance. We must

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carry it to them ourselves, despite all opposition. We must put away from us the devil's delusion that by declaring them citizens we have made them really such; that in giving them the alphabet of the Christian faith we have fitted them to dwell apart and alone.

I noticed in the brave and manly plea of Mr. Cable, already mentioned, these words, quoted from a newspaper published by black men:

"We ask not Congress, nor the Legislature, nor any other power, to remedy these evils, but we ask the people among whom we live. Those who *can* remedy them if they *will*. Those who have a high sense of honor and a deep moral feeling. Those who have one vestige of human sympathy left. . . . Those are the ones we ask to protect us in our weakness and ill-treatments. . . . As soon as the colored man is treated by the white man *as a man*, that harmony and pleasant feeling which should characterize all races which dwell together, shall be the bond of peace between them."

White men of the South, what answer shall we, the intelligent, the cultured, the powerful, the inheritors of noble traditions and of splendid ideas,—what answer, I ask in the name of God, of freedom and of humanity, shall we make to these men?

T. U. Dudley.

STONEWALL JACKSON IN THE SHENANDOAH.

INCLUDING HIS RELATIONS TO THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN.

THE



A CONFEDERATE OF 1862.

movement to capture Harper's Ferry and the fire-arms manufactured and stored there was organized at the Exchange Hotel in Richmond on the night of April 16, 1861. Ex-Governor Henry A. Wise was at the head of this purely impromptu affair. The Virginia Secession Convention, then sitting, was by a large majority "Union" in its sentiments till Sumter was fired on and captured, and Mr. Lincoln called for 75,000 men to enforce the laws in certain Southern States. Virginia was then, as it were, forced to "take sides," and she did not hesitate. I had been one of the candidates for a seat in that Convention from Augusta County but was overwhelmingly

defeated by the "Union" candidates, because I favored secession as the only "peace measure" Virginia could then adopt, our aim being to put ourselves in an independent position to negotiate between the United States and the seceded Gulf and Cotton States for a new Union, to be formed on a compromise of the slavery question by a convention to be held for that purpose.

Late on April 15 I received a telegram from "Nat" Tyler, the editor of the "Richmond Enquirer," summoning me to Richmond, where I arrived the next day. Before reaching the Exchange Hotel I met ex-Governor Wise on the street. He asked me to find as many officers of the armed and equipped volunteers of the inland towns and counties as I could, and request them to be at the hotel by seven in the evening to confer about a military movement which he deemed important. Not many such officers were in town, but I found Captains Turner Ashby and Richard Ashby of Fauquier County, Oliver R. Funsten of Clarke County, all commanders of volunteer companies of cavalry; also Captain John A. Harman of Staunton—my home—and Alfred Barbour, the latter



